

## Message Text

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ACTION EUR-12

INFO OCT-01 NEA-10 ISO-00 CIAE-00 DODE-00 NSAE-00  
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FM AMEMBASSY BELGRADE  
TO SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE 4045  
INFO AMEMBASSY TEHRAN  
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USCINCEUR  
CSCE CONFERENCE COLLECTIVE

C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 1 OF 3 BELGRADE 8775

FOR EUR/RPM AND EUR/SOV FROM USDEL CSCE

CINCEUR FOR POLAD

E.O. 11652: GDS  
TAGS: CSCE, OCON  
SUBJECT: BELGRADE CSCE -- WEEKLY HIGHLIGHTS, DECEMBER 3-  
DECEMBER 9

SUMMARY: SUBSIDIARY WORKING BODIES RECEDED INTO BACKGROUND,  
WHILE QUESTIONS OF PROCEDURE AND NATURE OF CONCLUDING DOCU-  
MENT CAME TO FORE. SOVIETS USED VARIOUS PLOYS TO DELAY SERI-  
OUS DRAFTING WORK IN COMMITTEE WHILE ARGUING THAT PLENARY  
SHOULD TAKE OVER ALL DRAFTING WHEN SUBSIDIARY WORKING  
BODIES TERMINATE DECEMBER 16. ALLIES AND NEUTRALS, WHO  
ARE HARD AT WORK DEVELOPING SUBSTANTIVE LANGUAGE TO ADD  
TO "SKELETON" OF CONCLUDING DOCUMENT FRENCH HAD INTRO-  
DUCED PREVIOUS WEEK AND SYNOPSSES OF NEW PROPOSALS,  
EXPRESSED CONCERN THAT SOVIETS' PROCEDURAL PROPOSAL WOULD  
EITHER UNDULY PROLONG CONFERENCE OR MAKE IT IMPOSSIBLE  
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TO DRAFT DETAILED, SUBSTANTIVE DOCUMENT. MORE BASIC  
QUESTION BEHIND FLURRY OF PROCEDURAL AND TACTICAL  
MANUEVERING IS WHETHER SOVIETS HAVE POLITICAL WILL THAT  
IS PREREQUISITE FOR SERIOUS EFFORT TO ACHIEVE A SUB-  
STANTIVE CONCLUDING DOCUMENT. END SUMMARY.

1. PLENARY--ALTHOUGH IT TOOK TIME OUT FOR AN ABBRE-

VIATED EAST-WEST HUMAN RIGHTS DEBATE DECEMBER 9 IN HONOR OF UN HUMAN RIGHTS DAY AND WAS MOMENTARILY DISTRACTED AT OTHER TIMES BY FAMILIAR EASTERN STATEMENTS ON MILITARY DETENTE, PROCEDURAL ISSUES DOMINATED WEEK. HUNGARIANS SERVED AS STALKING HORSE FOR SOVIET DEMAND THAT DECEMBER 16--DATE ON WHICH YELLOW BOOK PROVIDES SUBSIDIARY WORKING BODIES TERMINATE--MARK DEFINITIVE END OF REVIEW OF IMPLEMENTATION PHASE OF CONFERENCE. EASTERN DELS INSISTED THAT MEETING DECLARE ITEM FOUR OF AGENDA OVER AND THAT REMAINDER OF BELGRADE MEETING CONCENTRATE ON DRAFTING. THEY INDICATED WILLINGNESS, HOWEVER, TO ALLOW DRAFTING TO PROCEED ONLY IN SINGLE BODY, THE PLENARY. ISSUE OF WHETHER OR NOT ITEM FOUR OF AGENDA HAS BEEN COMPLETED IS NOT IMPORTANT--WEST CAN ALWAYS, FOR EXAMPLE, RETURN TO IMPLEMENTATION QUESTION IF IT WISHES WHEN DOCUMENTING NEED FOR INCLUSION OF ITS PROPOSALS IN CONCLUDING DOCUMENT. HOW MANY BODIES WILL BE ENGAGED IN DRAFTING ON MASS OF MATERIAL BEFORE CONFERENCE AFTER DECEMBER 16 IS IRELEVANT, HOWEVER, TO WHETHER OR NOT THERE IS CHANCE TO NEGOTIATE OTHER THAN A VERY GENERAL AND PROBABLY BRIEF CONCLUDING DOCUMENT. ALLIES SUPPORT AUSTRIAN PROPOSAL THAT THERE BE, IN EFFECT, FOUR DRAFTING BODIES AFTER DECEMBER 16: PLENARY, WHICH WOULD DRAFT GENERAL POLITICAL LANGUAGE, MEDITERRANEAN AND FOLLOW-UP PORTIONS OF CONCLUDING DOCUMENT, AND THREE OTHER BODIES ESTABLISHED BY PLENARY TO DEAL WITH MAIN

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BASKETS. AT END OF WEEK, SOVIETS HAD BEGUN TO SHOW SOME FLEXIBILITY, BUT THEY STILL APPARENTLY DESIRE TO KEEP DRAFTING AS CENTRALIZED AS POSSIBLE.

2. BASKET ONE (PRINCIPLES)--POTPOURRI OF NEW PROPOSALS WERE DISCUSSED IN SINGLE SESSION DEVOTED TO PRINCIPLES, BUT ONE AND POSSIBLY TWO FURTHER SESSIONS WILL BE REQUIRED TO COMPLETE FIRST READING OF NEW PROPOSALS, INCLUDING FOUR ON HUMAN RIGHTS INTRODUCED DECEMBER 2.

3. BASKET ONE (CBMS)--WORKING BODY FINISHED FIRST READING OF NEW PROPOSALS BUT THEN RAN INTO PROCEDURAL DIFFICULTIES. SOVIETS AND THEIR ALLIES (EXCEPT ROMANIA) REFUSED TO TAKE PART IN INFORMAL DRAFTING. EARLIER IN WEEK, SOVIETS HAD AGAIN EMPHASIZED IMPORTANCE THEY ATTACHED TO THEIR "ACTION PROGRAM," BUT ALLIED SPEAKERS DISMISSED ALL ELEMENTS OF THAT PROGRAM EXCEPT MANEUVER CEILING ABOUT WHICH THEY ASKED QUESTIONS AND KEPT OPTIONS OPEN. NEUTRAL/NON-ALIGNED SHOWED QUALIFIED INTEREST IN MANEUVER CEILING BUT NONE IN OTHER

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SOVIET PROPOSALS. GENERAL INTEREST EMERGED IN NEUTRAL-  
NON-ALIGNED DISARMAMENT PROPOSAL AND SIMILAR ELEMENTS  
OF ROMANIAN PROPOSAL.

4. BASKET TWO--WORKING GROUP COMPLETED DISCUSSION  
OF NEW PROPOSALS ON COMMERCIAL EXCHANGES AND EXCHANGE  
OF ECONOMIC AND COMMERCIAL INFORMATION. IN RECENT  
SESSIONS DISCUSSION OF PROPOSALS HAS ASSUMED PERFUNC-  
TORY TONE, WITH LITTLE APPARENT ATTEMPT AT SERI-  
OUS DRAFTING. BREAKDOWN OF INFORMAL DRAFTING PROCESS  
APPEARS TO BE RELATED IN PART TO EXPECTED TABLING  
BY VARIOUS DELEGATIONS OF DRAFT COMPOSITE DOCUMENTS  
WHICH WILL SYTHESIZE NEW PROPOSALS.

5. MEDITERRANEAN--AT END OF ANOTHER FRUSTRATING  
WEEK IN WHICH HE WAS UNABLE TO STIMULATE MEANINGFUL  
DEBATE IN WORKING BODY, MALTESE REP REVERTED TO A  
TACTIC FAMILIAR TO VETERANS OF 1973-1975 CSCE NEGOTIA-  
TIONS. HE CONVERTED MALTESE WORKING PAPER INTO FORMAL  
PROPOSAL CALLING FOR ESTABLISHMENT OF PERMANENT COM-  
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MITTEE ON SECURITY AND COOPERATION IN MEDITERRANEAN,

WHICH WOULD BE LOCATED IN MALTA AND HAVE PERMANENT SECRETARIAT COMPOSED OF ALL MEDITERRANEAN STATES PLUS U.S. AND SOVIET UNION. HE ALSO ADVISED THE PLENARY DECEMBER 9 THAT MALTA WOULD WITHHOLD CONSENSUS FROM ALL PROPOSALS--SUBSTANTIVE AND PROCEDURAL--UNTIL ASSURED ITS PROPOSAL WOULD BE TREATED IN PARALLEL WITH THOSE IN OTHER BASKETS. WHILE MALTESE REP STOPPED SHORT OF DEMANDING THAT MALTESE PROPOSAL BE ACCEPTED IN PRESENT FORM, HIS MESSAGE WAS CLEAR: MALTESE WILL PLAY THEIR TRUMP CARD OF WITHHOLDING CONSENSUS UNLESS THEY ARE GIVEN SUBSTANTIAL SATISFACTION IN AREA OF GREATEST CONCERN T THEM.

6. BASKET THREE--BY OBSERVING PROCEDURAL LIMITATIONS ON DISCUSSION AGREED UPON LATE PREVIOUS WEEK, WORKING BODY FINISHED FIRST READING OF ALL FORTY NEW PROPOSALS DECEMBER 9. AT END OF MEETING WARSAW PACT ATTEMPTED TO HAVE COMMITTEE REPORT TO PLENARY, THAT IT HAD FINISHED ITS REVIEW AND HAD MOVED TO DRAFTING. US AND EC-9 BLOCKED THIS MOVE CONTENDING THAT BODY COULD NOT SAY THAT WAS THE SITUATION SINCE IT HAD NO APPROVED DRAFTING PROCEDURE. IT WAS GENERALLY HOPED THAT WEEK-END WOULD BRING AN ACCEPTABLE DRAFTING METHOD. NATO CAUCUS PRODUCED AGREED SYNTHESSES OF ALL PROPOSALS IN HUMAN CONTACTS AND IN INFORMATION BY END OF THE WEEK. CANADIANS HELD UP AGREEMENT ON FIRST DOCUMENT IN ABSENCE OF INSTRUCTIONS. SEVERAL DAYS WERE LOST WHICH COULD HAVE BEEN USED TO TEST SOVIET WILLINGNESS TO NEGOTIATE IN SMALL, INFORMAL GROUPS. THE TWO PAPERS ARE STRONG WESTERN NEGOTIATING POSITIONS, AND IN LIGHT OF SOVIET TACTICS WE CANNOT BE OPTIMISTIC THAT NEXT WEEK WILL SEE MUCH PROGRESS.  
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7. FOLLOW-UP--DANISH REP TABLED LONG-AWAITED EC-9 PROPOSAL OUTLINING FOLLOW-UP SECTION IN CONCLUDING DOCUMENT. PROPOSAL CALLS FOR ADOPTION OF YELLOW-BOOK PROCEDURES MUTATIS MUTANDIS AS BASIS FOR MODALITIES OF NEXT SIMILAR MEETING. IT CONTAINS PROVISION FOR ONE-WEEK PREPARATORY MEETING IMMEDIATELY PRIOR TO MAIN MEETING. US AND OTHER WESTERN REPS SUPPORTED ALL ASPECTS OF DANISH PROPOSAL. NEUTRAL/NON-ALIGNED AND EASTERN DELS SUPPORT MANY ASPECTS OF DANISH PAPER, INCLUDING MUTATIS MUTANDIS FORMULA, BUT FAVOR TWO-WEEK PREPARATORY MEETING HELD THREE-FOUR MONTHS PRIOR TO MAIN MEETING. SOVIET AND MANY NEUTRAL/NON-ALIGNED DELS STRESSED THAT QUESTION OF LEVEL OF NEXT SIMILAR MEETING SHOULD BE DEFERRED UNTIL NEXT PREPARATORY MEETING, AND SHOULD NOT BE SUBJECT OF BILATERAL CONSULTATIONS HELD

IN INTERVENING PERIOD. SPANISH REP OFFICIALLY  
PRESENTED CANDIDACY OF MADRID AS SITE OF NEXT FOLLOW-UP  
MEETING.

8. COMMENT: DELEGATIONS ARE INCREASINGLY PREOCCUPIED  
WITH CONCLUDING DOCUMENT. SOVIET PROCEDURAL TACTICS  
SEEM MOST COMPREHENSIBLE IF DESIGNED TO END DEBATE  
ON IMPLEMENTATION RECORD AND FORCE CONFERENCE INTO  
DRAFTING. AT SAME TIME, THEY SEEM INTENDED TO  
INCREASE PROBABILITY THAT ALL THAT CAN BE DRAFTED ARE

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POLITICAL GENERALITIES. THERE IS, CONSEQUENTLY,  
GROWING FEELING THAT SOVIETS DESIRE TO REACH DECEMBER 22  
ADJOURNMENT DATE WITH SOME SORT OF DRAFT CONCLUDING  
DOCUMENT, EVEN ONE HIGHLY BRACKETED, THAT COULD BE  
STUDIED IN MOSCOW OVER HOLIDAY BREAK AND THEN NEG-  
OTIATED DURING JANUARY-FEBRUARY. SOVIET RELUCTANCE  
TO PERMIT ROUTINE DRAFTING PHASE TO BEGIN IN SUBSIDIARY  
WORKING BODIES AND INSISTENCE ON USING DECEMBER 16  
TERMINATION OF THOSE GROUPS AS DEVICE TO MAKE CLEAN  
BREAK WITH PAST THUS MIGHT SERVE AS FORM OF SHOCK  
TACTIC TO ENCOURAGE HIGH-LEVEL, PLENARY CONCENTRATION  
ON SHAPE OF FINAL COMPROMISES.

9. POSSIBLE SHAPE OF A CONCLUDING DOCUMENT IS, IN  
FACT, BECOMING CLEARER. NEUTRAL-NON-ALIGNED TABLED

IN PLENARY DECEMBER 9 SEVERAL PAGES OF LANGUAGE  
INTENDED TO FILL IN FLESH OF FIRST TWO SECTIONS OF  
FRENCH "SKELETON" CONCLUDING DOCUMENT INTRODUCED PREVI-  
OUS WEEK, THIS LANGUAGE, COVERING "DESCRIPTION OF  
MEETING" AND "GENERAL POLITICAL CONSIDERATIONS" IS  
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GENERALLY ACCEPTABLE FROM WESTERN POINT OF VIEW,  
MUCH LESS SO TO SOVIETS. IT INCLUDES, FOR EXAMPLE,  
SOLID STATEMENT ON IMPORTANCE OF HUMAN RIGHTS FOR  
EAST-WEST RELATIONS. NATO CAUCUS IS NOW DISCUSSING  
LANGUAGE DEVELOPED BY BRITISH IN EC-9 CAUCUS INTENDED  
TO FLESH-OUT THIRD SECTION OF SKELETON, "ASSESSMENT  
OF IMPLEMENTATION." WE HAVE SUGGESTED THE STRENGTHEN-  
ING OF CERTAIN PORTIONS, AND IT IS LIKELY THAT ALLIES  
WILL TABLE AN AMENDED VERSION DURING THE WEEK OF  
DECEMBER 12. SOVIETS HAVE ALREADY INDICATED GENERAL  
ACCEPTABILITY OF DANISH PAPER ON FOLLOW-UP MODALITIES  
THAT WOULD CONSTITUTE CORE OF FIFTH AND FINAL SECTION  
OF SKELETON, "NEXT MEETING SIMILAR TO THE BELGRADE  
MEETING." THIS LEAVES ONLY FOURTH SECTION, "DECISIONS  
AND RECOMMENDATIONS DESIGNED TO IMPROVE THE IMPLEMENTA-  
TION OF THE FINAL ACT," IN LARGELY INCOMPLETE FORM.  
EVEN HERE, ALLIES ARE DEVELOPING SYNOPSES PAPERS  
INTENDED TO FACILITATE INFORMAL NEGOTIATION OF NEW  
PROPOSAL COMPROMISES. RAW MATERIAL FOR A MEANINGFUL  
CONCLUDING DOCUMENT IS THUS INCREASINGLY AT HAND.  
QUESTION TO WHICH SOVIETS HAVE THUS FAR NOT GIVEN  
ANSWER, ALTHOUGH THEY HAVE BEEN FREE AT DROPPING PESSI-  
MISTIC HINTS, IS WHETHER EAST HAS POLITICAL WILL TO  
NEGOTIATE SERIOUSLY ON THE BASIS OF THIS MATERIAL  
END COMMENT.  
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## Message Attributes

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